1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

567
D21

It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

177
567

Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158. [55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
567

It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

181
721

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 79 f.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[41]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[42] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[43] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[44]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[41] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[42] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 78.
[43] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[44] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

622
623

gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish.

721

The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[66]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[66] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[68]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[68] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

721

field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.[68]

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

> Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

628
721

This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

> There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.
>
> Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.[70]

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

[68] Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.
[70] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24–27.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

628
721

it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

177
721

No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, passim; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[74] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[75] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[76] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[74] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[75] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[76] Smith, *loc. cit.*

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
726
787

An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

535
721
787

And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

535
721
787

like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[45]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[46]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

177
535
721
787

Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[47]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[45] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[47] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
535
721
787

particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177 535 721 787

This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722]

While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 727

The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

101
173

The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

101
167
727

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28]See map, fig. 2.
[29]Kroeber, 14.
[30]See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tal-aw* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[84]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[85] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[86] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[84] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [85] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [86] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the Nekɛteme'uɣ formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikátimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

---

[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Teit writes of a Salish group called Tla'kaiax or Stla'kaiaxaux being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.[46] Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are atiaxá' (Umatilla) and atiaka'ma (Kittitas); the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe.

In this connection Teit states that

> The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchua or .nla'qutcua, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chis by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.[47]

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a'kaitci, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the ·nkee'us;[48] Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.[49]

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805–1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800–1830."[50] Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."[51] Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for

[46] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[47] *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[48] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[49] *Idem*, p. 94.
[50] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[51] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river." But this further sentence, *in the same paragraph*, is neglected: "They [of the Columbia River] go to war to their [Snake] first villages in 12 days."[48] In other words, the local Sahaptins (Tenino) were the aggressors in this struggle with sufficient initiative to travel twelve days to the south in order to meet the enemy. A few miles downriver, at The Dalles (city), the distance to the enemy is estimated as four days' march, much less but yet considerable. A recent battle is mentioned, presumably conducted on Shoshonean ground.[49] These notations were made by the explorers on the downriver trip. Upon their return the following year they found the Indians of the vicinity still on the offensive: "They had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians. . . . They had been fortunate in the expedition and had taken from their enimies most of the horses which we saw in their possession."[50] Mooney aptly summarizes conditions for this period and later:

> Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian tribes and driven farther back to the south. . . . The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warmsprings reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later.[51]

Teit and Berreman use the term "Snake" as a specific tribal designation, and assume that in so doing they are following native practice. Their entire reconstructions stand or fall upon the validity of this assumption. Yet Sahaptin informants emphatically declare that they never used Snake as a tribal name, and that they are quite unaware of any such tribe. Instead, the term is used collectively for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute. The name came into familiar usage among the whites because it is the exclusive designation in sign language, the symbol being the same as that used for the reptile. In verbal speech specific names are applied to the various groups.

The distances separating the Shoshoneans from the Columbia River, as indicated in the texts and maps of Lewis and Clark, demonstrate that they were at least as far south in 1805 as during the early distribution outlined above.[52] And yet this is the period at which Teit and Berreman contend

[48] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also *idem*, Vol. 3, p. 168.
[49] *Idem*, Vol. 3, p. 163.
[50] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282. See also above.
[51] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 742.
[52] Except perhaps in the region of the Blue Mountains. See above.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[85]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[86]

VERNE F. RAY
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[87] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[85] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[86] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[87] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of
173 Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were
361 hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars be-
tween the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, cctai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

131* Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years
173 thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A cir-
721 cumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from in-
formant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

131 x
173
721

POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

131 x
175
721

Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . ."

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131*
125
721

the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

131*
114
173

Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

224 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[166]

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

[166] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assiniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 227–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 25, 35–8; *José*, in *Id.*, tom. cxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

[169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt. Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–8. 'Ils . . . faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, ou de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

703 721 continued hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 305, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 94–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have instituted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance..... is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 233–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.